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### Front cover:

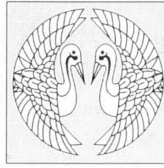
“Zulaykhā recognises in Yūsuf, who is led as a slave before the Pharaoh's palace, the youth whom she saw in a dream”.  
Miniature to the poem *Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā* by Nūr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī. *Gulshan*, manuscript E 12  
in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 203 b, 37.0 × 27.2 cm.

### Back cover:

**Plate 1.** “Wedding celebrations of the young ruler of Ḥalab and Gul”. Miniature to an untitled poem by Muḥammad Kāzīm b. Muḥammad Riḍā, the same manuscript, fol. 116 a, 36.8 × 29.0 cm.

**Plate 2.** “Yūsuf, rescued from the well, among the members of the merchant Malik's caravan”. Miniature to the poem *Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā* by Nūr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, the same manuscript, fol. 202 a, 36.3 × 25.2 cm.

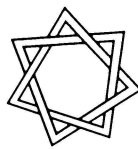
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# TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

E. A. Rezvan

## THE QUR'ĀN AND ITS WORLD: VII. TALISMAN, SHIELD, AND SWORD

The fifteenth to eighteenth centuries in the Muslim world were marked by increased confrontation between Islamic states and their enemies, by inspiring military victories and crushing defeats, by the gain and loss of vast territories, by the gradual weakening of Islamic state formations and by the continued successful expansion of Islam as an ideology. These centuries saw the great victories and death of Timūr, the victorious conclusion of the reconquista in Spain, the fall of Constantinople and the huge territorial gains of the Ottomans in Europe, the emergence of the Great Moghūl state in India, the disappearance of the Mamlūk state, the victory of the Portuguese and the Turkish siege of Vienna, Russian victories and Ottoman defeats, Napoleon's arrival in Egypt... These events were accompanied by important changes in ideology and religious main streams. In the world of Islam the growing influence and spread of Sūfī teachings were of prime importance.

In the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, the role of wandering Turkic *darwīshes* and Central Asian *bābās* undergone exceptional growth in the states of Asia Minor, the advanced post of Islam on the approaches to Europe. The brotherhoods, which endowed battle with religious symbolism and marked additions to their ranks with special formulas of initiation, abetted a significant rise in the number of soldiers on the fronts of the Holy War and heightened the degree of ideological confrontation. Tens of thousands of Sūfīs felt that to sacrifice one's life while defending the path of one's *shaykh* represented only the most paltry degree of dedication. They not only accompanied the army and maintained the morale of warriors, but themselves took part in battles. A great number of them fought, for example, in the last siege of Constantinople in 1453.

The brotherhoods actively participated in armed conflicts between Muslims as well. During an inspection of his troops in 1516, before the decisive encounter with the Mamlūks which would grant the Ottomans centuries of control over Syria and Egypt, Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī was accompanied by the leaders of the Badawīyya, Qādirīyya, and

Rifā'iyya beneath the banners of their respective brotherhoods [1].

From the fifteenth century on, we see the increasing involvement of Sūfī brotherhoods in political processes. The descendents of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ardabilī (d. 1334), founder of the Ṣafawīyya brotherhood which gave rise to a powerful religious movement, established control over the main territories of Persia, founded the Ṣafawid dynasty and proclaimed Twelver Shi'ism the state religion. Ismā'il I, the founder of the dynasty, transferred his power to the Great Deputy of the head of the order. Members of the Ni'mat-Allāhiyya order, closely connected with the Ṣafawids, headed a number of provinces in the new state. At practically the same time, the Naqshbandiyya order gained control over significant territories in India, Afghanistan and Central Asia. Brotherhoods professing a mixed Sūfī-Shi'ite doctrine began to play an ever greater role on the enormous territory from the Balkans to Persia. The broad expansion of Shi'ite ideology, state-sponsored in a number of instances, the flourishing of Persian artistic culture, which took place under strengthened Shi'ism, introduced many new elements to Islam. At times these were of revolutionary import both in their content and in the form of their expression.

The success of Sūfī teachings, their transformation into "folk Islam", led in particular to a growth in the role of the magical in everyday life. A world of forebodings, prophecies, dreams and symbols created an atmosphere of *khānagāh*. Rituals, music and singing, specific systems of rhythmic movement, fragrances and narcotic substances were used to attain special states of consciousness. A special role was played by the magic of numbers and words, by colours and smells, incantations and spells.

All of this could not but influence the outward appearance of the Sacred book of Islam, the nature of its use, and the demands placed upon it by the new era. Manuscripts of the Qur'ān were ordered in accordance with new preferences. Literature on the Qur'ān underwent significant changes.

### 1

It was at this time that numerous talismanic Qur'āns appeared [2]. Such, for example, are an oval Qur'ān dated to 1692; a Qur'ānic scroll approximately four meters in

length and 6 cm in width, where the text of the Qur'ān is written into *āyat al-kursīy* (seventeenth century); a somewhat later scroll, where the text of the Qur'ān is already



Table

Examples of the usage of various *āyāt* and *sūras* in occult practice<sup>1</sup>

Nos. of <i>āyāt/sūras</i> Persia	Specific usage of <i>sūras</i> and <i>āyāt</i>	Nos. of <i>āyāt/sūras</i> Maghrib
1	To prevent all illnesses. To fight all illnesses. Especially: headaches, eye diseases, ear diseases, fever, pimples, paralysis, spasms of facial muscles, sciatica, rheumatic back pain, weakness, apathy, failing memory, freckles. In case of accident, snake bite, grief, fear. To protect against indisposition and danger incurred by travel over water and in the desert. For attempts to gain fame or obtain the favor of the powerful of the world. For wishes and to attain spiritual, material, familial well-being.	
2	Epilepsy, expulsion of evil spirits, fear, weaning children, fever.	
2 : 1—5	To acquire knowledge.	
2 : 16—20	To inflict harm on a foe, tyrant.	
2 : 25	To obtain a good harvest of fruits.	
2 : 30—2	To rob people or <i>jinn</i> s of their power.	
2 : 40—2	To experience portentous dreams. To discover what a woman conceals in her heart.	
2 : 54	Inflicting harm on a foe, tyrant.	
2 : 60	To combat thirst while traveling and indigestion.	
2 : 67—9	To force a sleeping person to tell the truth.	
	To force someone to come to you.	2 : 72
2 : 72—3	To find hidden or lost things.	
2 : 74	To end spousal conflicts. * To force a man to forget a woman with whom he has fallen in love. To increase the milking capacity of domestic animals. To increase the quantity of water in streams and reservoirs.	* 2 : 69
2 : 81	To strip an enemy of reason or to weaken his memory.	
2 : 102	To sow conflict between husband and wife.	
2 : 127	To find hidden or buried things.	
2 : 143	Against evil which stems from evil spirits or people.	
2 : 148	To find a stolen thing or to catch a runaway slave.	
2 : 249	When hunting snakes, scorpions; against mosquitoes, bedbugs, and other parasites.	
2 : 255	To prevent all illnesses. Against fever. To protect people from misfortune. To gain access to a ruler. * To ensure the favor of influential individuals. To prevent an enemy from approaching the city.	* 2 : 55
2 : 255—7	Against evil spirits. In case of impoverishment. To increase revenues.	
2 : 259	To heal any illness. In case of balding. To increase a harvest of fruits.	
2 : 267	To end spousal conflict.	
3 : 7—9	To improve memory, sharpen reason.	
3 : 8	In case of stomach pain.	
3 : 17—9	To prevent diabolical temptation and evil thoughts. To gain rhetorical ability.	

<sup>1</sup> First column: *āyāt/sūras* numbers are given according to *Khawāṣṣ-i āyāt wa manāfi'-i-sūr-i-nabiyyāt* by 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn. See A. Christensen, *Khawāṣṣ-i-āyāt. Notice et extraits d'un manuscrit persan traitant la magie des versets du Coran* (København, 1920), pp. 7—11, 30—67. The work presents occult practices common in Persia in the sixteenth—nineteenth centuries. Third column: *āyāt/sūras* numbers are given according to E. Douitté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger, 1909), pp. 166, 168, 213—7, 223—96. The work is devoted to the occult practice in North Africa. Throughout, we have replaced Flügel's numeration of *āyāt* with that of the Cairo edition. The use of particular fragments of *āyāt* in occult practice is not indicated specially in the current Table.

Continuation of the Table

Nos. of <i>āyāt/sūras</i> Persia	Specific usage of <i>sūras</i> and <i>āyāt</i>	Nos. of <i>āyāt/sūras</i> Maghrib
3 : 35—7	To ease birth. To calm and lull a crying child. To increase the milk of a nursing mother.	
3 : 38—40	In case of infertility.	
3 : 73—4	Aid in obtaining one's daily bread, finding work for an unemployed person. To win a woman's love.	
3 : 111—2	For victory over an enemy.	
3 : 126	For victory over an enemy.	
3 : 126—8	To turn a place into a desert.	
3 : 144	In case of bleeding, menorrhagia. Against evil spirits and people. To neutralize the effect of a talisman.	
	Against all illnesses.	3 : 154
3 : 169—71	To acquire laudable moral qualities (learnedness, courage, piety).	
3 : 173—4	To defend against evil which stems from influential persons.	
3 : 200	Against drunkenness.	
4 : 23	To separate lovers who are committing adultery. To free someone from sexual desire. To deprive someone of [sexual] potency.	
4 : 41	To learn from a sleeping woman what is in her heart.	
4 : 148	To cause dumbness.	
	To discover treasure.	5 : 18
5 : 24	To prevent someone's departure. Against the insinuations of evil spirits.	5 : 64
6	To prevent all illnesses. To become invisible.	6 : 25
6 : 44—5	To weaken the power and might of a tyrant.	
6 : 63—4	To protect against indisposition and dangers incurred by travel over water. To help a person mad with love.	6 : 73
6 : 122	Against the plotting of enemies and their curses. * To inflict dumbness.	* 6 : 122
7 : 38	So that an enemy might remain longer in prison.	
7 : 43	To reconcile enemies. To exorcise <i>jinns</i> .	7 : 54—137
	To discover treasure.	7 : 55
7 : 57—8	To protect fruit trees from parasites and pests. Against nightmares.	7 : 201
	For good marksmanship.	8 : 17
	Against jealousy among the wives of one man.	8 : 62
9	Against thieves and bandits. To save a sinking ship.	9 : 43
9 : 46	To catch a thief or runaway slave. * In case of epilepsy, to "imprison" the spirits which cause the seizure.	* 9 : 46
	To gain access to the powerful of the world, to protect oneself from slander, death by fire, etc.	9 : 129
9 : 128—9	To protect livestock from wolves.	
10 : 31	To ease birth. In case of ear diseases.	
11 : 82	To weaken the power and might of a tyrant. In case of epilepsy, to "imprison" the spirits which cause the seizure.	12 : 12

Continuation of the Table

Nos. of <i>āyāt/sūras</i> Persia	Specific usage of <i>sūras</i> and <i>āyāt</i>	Nos. of <i>āyāt/sūras</i> Maghrib
	To obtain the love and favor of someone, including an influential person.	12 : 31
12 : 91—3	Against eye illnesses.	
	To ensure a woman's faithfulness.	13
13 : 11	To prevent all illnesses.	
	To increase miraculously the amount of butter in a skin.	13 : 17
14 : 12	In case of aching joints, eye complaints. To heal a person possessed by <i>jinn</i> s. * Against parasites.	* 14 : 12
	To exorcise <i>jinn</i> s. To render someone mute.	14 : 32
	In case of epilepsy, to "imprison" the spirits which cause the seizure. Against thieves.	15 : 9
15 : 17	To prevent all illnesses.	
15 : 87—8	To achieve reconciliation. To cool one's ardor for a woman with whom relations are forbidden.	
16 : 10—3	To protect livestock, crops, fruit trees.	
16 : 14—6	For success in hunting.	
	To become invisible.	16 : 108
	To become invisible.	17 : 39
	To prevent sheep from falling ill.	17 : 82
18	Against a tyrant who is distant from the true faith. To discover treasure.	* 18
	To prevent complications in birth.	18 : 14
	Against the insinuations of evil forces.	18 : 21
	To prevent complications in birth.	18 : 25
	To become invisible.	18 : 57
	To preserve a girl's virginity until marriage.	18 : 71
19 : 1	Against evil forces. To gain prosperity. For success in love and friendship.	
19 : 5—15	To ease conception.	
	To gain the favor of influential persons.	20 : 39
	To become invisible.	20 : 46
	To gain the favor of influential persons.	20 : 67
21 : 25—9	Against a tyrant.	
23 : 12—4	To grant a woman the ability to give birth.	
	To become invisible.	23 : 115
	Against headaches.	25 : 45
26	To find hidden or lost objects.	26
	To exorcise <i>jinn</i> s.	26 : 63
	In case of diseases of the heart, liver, spleen.	26 : 78—80
	To exorcise <i>jinn</i> s.	27 : 30—1
	To exorcise <i>jinn</i> s.	27 : 39—40
	To cause illness in someone else.	27 : 50—2
	To cross great distances in the blink of an eye.	28 : 22—4
	To discover treasure.	27 : 64
31 : 16	To gain knowledge of secret things in a dream.	
	To discover treasure.	31 : 33
32 : 16	To increase miraculously the amount of grain in a storehouse.	

Continuation of the Table

Nos. of <i>āyāt/sūras</i> Persia	Specific usage of <i>sūras</i> and <i>āyāt</i>	Nos. of <i>āyāt/sūras</i> Maghrib
	To exorcize <i>jinns</i> .	34 : 12—3
34 : 18—20	For success in a search for treasure or veins of ore.	
	To prevent complications during birth.	35 : 41
36	To prevent all illnesses. * To force someone to come to you.	* 36
	To become invisible.	36 : 9
	Against sheep diseases.	36 : 29
36 : 58	When hunting snakes, scorpions; against mosquitoes, bedbugs, and other parasites. Against death by fire or drowning. To prevent madness. To cause a baby to stop crying.	
37 : 7	To prevent all illnesses.	
	To increase miraculously the amount of grain in a storehouse.	38 : 54
	To cross great distances in the blink of an eye.	39 : 67
41 : 12	To prevent all illnesses.	
	To increase miraculously the amount of figs, dates and raisins in a place of storage.	41 : 53
44	To prevent all illnesses.	
	For success in hunting and fishing.	45 : 13—4
	To separate adulterers.	45 : 34
	Against the insinuations of evil forces.	46 : 25
	To exorcise <i>jinns</i> .	46 : 29—32
48	To prevent all illnesses.	
	To force someone to come to you.	48 : 1—3
	Against all illnesses.	48 : 29
	To discover treasure.	52 : 27
	Against the insinuations of evil spirits.	54 : 45
	For victory over an enemy in war.	54 : 46
	To exorcise <i>jinns</i> .	54 : 50
55	To prevent all illnesses.	
	To preserve a girl's virginity until marriage.	55 : 19
	To become invisible.	55 : 33
	Against epilepsy, to "imprison" spirits which cause seizures.	56 : 27
	Against epilepsy, to "imprison" spirits which cause seizures.	56 : 41
	To exorcise <i>jinns</i> .	56 : 76—80
57	To prevent all illnesses.	
	To cause enemies to flee.	58 : 21
	In case of stomach pain.	59 : 21
59	To prevent all illnesses.	
	To separate a husband from his wife.	59 : 2
59 : 22—4	Against tumors. In case of liver diseases.	
67	To prevent all illnesses. * To compel someone to come to you. * To discover treasure.	* 67
	For flourishing trade.	71 : 10—2
	Against locusts. To discover treasure.	72
	To preserve a girl's virginity until marriage.	72 : 1
	Against thieves.	75



Continuation of the Table

Nos. of <i>āyāt/sūras</i> Persia	Specific usage of <i>sūras</i> and <i>āyāt</i>	Nos. of <i>āyāt/sūras</i> Maghrib
	* Against epilepsy; to "imprison" the spirits which cause the seizure.	76 : 29
78	To prevent all illnesses.	
	When swallowing leeches.	79 : 31
	When swallowing leeches.	79 : 46
	To sow discord among friends.	80 : 1—6
	To sow discord among friends.	83 : 1—3
	To become invisible.	85 : 2
85 : 20—2	To prevent all illnesses.	
	To force someone to come to you.	86
	In case of disease of the heart, liver, spleen.	86 : 1—8
	To preserve a girl's virginity until marriage.	86 : 2
	Against dangers which arise in the night, on water, in trees.	87
	To discover treasure.	91
	In case of disease of the heart, liver, spleen.	94 : 1—3
	To improve memory, sharpen reason.	96 : 5
97	In case of phlegm, convulsions, diseases of the liver.	
	* To become invisible.	* 97
	To induce dissent between evil people.	99
	To sow discord between friends.	99 : 1—6
111	To prevent all illnesses.	
112	To prevent all illnesses. In case of eye disease. To gain spiritual, material, familial well-being. * Against all forms of sorcery.	* 112
113	Spiritual, material, familial well-being. To prevent all illnesses. * Against all forms of sorcery.	* 113
	To sow discord between friends.	113 : 1—2
114	Spiritual, material, familial well-being. To prevent all illnesses. * Against all forms of sorcery. * To ensure the safety of a place where valuables are hidden.	* 114
letters of light <sup>2</sup>	In case of eye disease, epilepsy. To calm someone's anger. To prevent indisposition or dangers incurred by travel over water, across the desert. To assure work for an unemployed person. For success in love and friendship. For material well-being. To find a husband for a young girl.	
<i>basmala</i>	In case of illness. * Against headaches. * To present oneself in worthy fashion before the powerful of this world. * To destroy an oppressor. To neutralize [the effects of] sorcery.	* <i>basmala</i>

In this time, Qur'anic episodes became an indispensable part of Muslim miniatures. In the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries manuscripts, which primarily contained poetic works in some fashion or other connected with Qur'anic

themes, a significant part of the Qur'anic text was illustrated (taking into account the repetition of themes in the Qur'an). Even the most cursory examination of available publications confirms this. Widely illustrated, in particular, were

<sup>2</sup> The letters of light are 14 letters in the Arabic alphabet (ا, ل, م, ن, ه, و, ي, ع, س, ط, ع, ي, ه, ك, ر, ص, م, ل, ا) which in various combinations precede a number of *sūras* (2, 3, 7, 10—15, 19—20, 26—32, 36, 38, 40—46, 50, 68). The significance of these letters has not yet been convincingly explained.

the story of Yūsuf (*sūra* 12), the *mi'rāj* (17 : 1, 60), the Qur'ānic tale of Sulaymān and Queen of Sabā', and the *jinn*s, birds, beasts and wind which obeyed the Prophet (21 : 78—81; 34 : 12—14; 38 : 36—40; 27 : 15—45) [17], the story of Iskandar (18 : 83—98) [18], the story of Ādam (2 : 33—34; 36 : 7 : 19—25; 20 : 115—122) [19], the story of Ibrāhīm (37 : 102—113) [20], the story of Mūsā (7 : 103—110; 26 : 22—35; 20 : 17—23; 27 : 10—12; 28 : 30—32) [21], the tale of Yūnus and the whale (21 : 87—88; 68 : 48—50; 37 : 139—148; 10 : 98; 6 : 86; 4 : 163) [22], the story of 'Isā (3 : 45—46; 61 : 14) [23]. Moreover, the illustrations frequently developed Qur'ānic themes, taking their cue in this from popular interpretations [24]. If one recalls that at first it was forbidden even to include the titles of *sūras* in a copy of the Qur'ān, as they were not part of the divinely revealed text, then the changes which took place later appear even more striking.

It was an age of commentaries and supracommentaries. Quite typical of the spirit of the time, for example, was the appearance of a richly ornamented manuscript (dated to the late sixteenth—early seventeenth century), in which the Qur'ānic text is surrounded by four other texts carefully arranged in separate margins: a Persian work on the *asbāb al-nuzūl*, the well-known *tafsīr* of al-Bayḍāwī, the Persian-language *Tafsīr-i Ḥusaynī*, and an Arab work on the rules of recitation [25]. This formed a unique encyclopaedia in

which the Qur'ān itself already plays a subordinate role: one reads not the Qur'ān, but about it. While in such collections the latter is the main text, it remains **only one of a number** of texts sacred in nature.

It should be added that a large number of copies of the Qur'ān with parallel translations into Persian, Turkish, Urdu and other languages came to light in this period, which indicated the growing importance of national languages in the religious sphere [26].

Collections of 9, 8, 7, 6, 5 and 4 popular *sūras* became more and more common [27]. These usually included *sūras* 36, 48, 55, 67, 78. The appearance of such collections has been established already for the twelfth century. The Kraus collection (USA) contains a small-format manuscript (15.6 × 10.9 cm) which is a type of prayer-book consisting of a selection of *āyāt* from *sūras* 7, 8, and 9 [28]. From the fifteenth century on, however, such manuscripts became significantly more common. In a functional sense, in the practice of Ṣūfī brotherhoods, they were in essence substitutes for the text of the Qur'ān.

Earlier, in the thirteenth—fourteenth centuries, scrolls with micrography [29], texts with parallel translation [30], small-sized volumes [31], and selections of several *sūras* [32] were also created. What is important is that in the time under discussion here such publications were produced on a mass scale.

## 2

Museum collections have preserved for us numerous examples of Qur'ānic texts inscribed on the surfaces of various types of arms used by Muslim warriors [33]. Extant examples produced on virtually the entire territory of *dār al-islām* convincingly demonstrate that from the mid-fifteenth century on craftsmen who produced arms more and more frequently added Qur'ānic inscriptions to their work: battle-axes [34], shields [35], armor [36], elbow-guards [37], swords and sabers [38], helmets [39], daggers [40], chamfrons [41], and other martial objects [42]. Surely, this does not mean that earlier implements entirely lacked Qur'ānic inscriptions. But from the mid-fifteenth century onward, this practice became a mass phenomenon.

The addition of inscriptions to weaponry was itself a special magic ritual. According to *khawāṣṣ-i āyāt*; it was obligatory to conduct this ritual at 6 PM on a Friday. The inscriber had to complete the procedure on an empty stomach and in a state of ritual purity [43]. The appearance of special talismanic shirts worn under a coat of mail has been also established toward the end of the fifteenth century. Their surface was entirely covered in writing (the text of the Qur'ān, in full or in part, pious formulas, magic squares, etc.) [44]. Magic squares usually contained four letters or the even numbers 4—2—8—6. Such squares, called *badūh*, were frequently inscribed on the blade of a sword next to the name of the craftsman who fashioned it [45].

Special octagonal manuscripts of the Qur'ān which were affixed to standards [46] also appeared at this time. Individual Qur'ānic phrases and formulas on the standards of Muslim armies (frequently consisting only of the words *Allāh* or '*alam Allāh*) were replaced by extended texts. A Qur'ānic text could also be written into the upper portion of a standard in the form of a palm (*khamsa*, the "hand of Fātima", a traditional protection of magical signifi-

cance) [47]. A special talisman which included *āya* 54 : 46 could also be affixed to the standard. Such a talisman could be placed in the commander's turban as well [48].

Worthy of special comment are a number of extant Ṣafawid helmets reproducing the basic elements of the *tāj-i Ḥaydarī*. According to tradition, *shaykh* Ḥaydar, father of Shāh Ismā'īl, the found of the Ṣafawid State was told by angels in a dream to place in his headgear a twelve-sided baton cut from red scarlet. Each side of the baton was to symbolize one of the twelve Shi'ite *imāms*. It was for this reason that Ṣafawid warriors received the title *qizilbāsh* ("red head" in Turkish). Many Ṣafawid helmets of damask steel, made in imitation of *tāj-i Ḥaydarī*, had a twelve-sided baton at their apex and were adorned with a circular band of inscriptions (*āyat al-kursī* — 2 : 255, *āya* 61 : 13, followed by "Oh Muḥammad! Oh 'Alī") [49].

The repertoire of Qur'ānic texts inscribed on arms was rather limited. These usually consisted of part of *āya* 61 : 13 "help from God and a nigh victory", *āyat al-kursī* (2 : 255), and the *āyāt* which follow, the short last *sūras* (105, 109, 110, 112—114). The use of *āya* 68 : 51, which was employed against the "evil eye", has also been attested [50].

Qur'ānic fragments — "pictures of the word of God" — in mosques performed the same functional role as paintings in Christian churches. These fragments formed a distinctive semiotic system, which provided, in particular, a religious-mythological picture of the world [51]. The role of Qur'ānic texts on Muslim standards is comparable to the role of icons depicting saints on the banners of Russian armies; Qur'ānic texts on armour are paralleled by depictions of the saints placed, for example, on arms carried in Muscovy [52].

For the medieval warrior, sacred depictions and texts served as talismans which gave his weapons special striking

or defensive power. It was as though he wore two suits of armour: one was "earthly", the other was linked with higher forces and provided miraculous defence against the enemy's arrows, sword, or lance.

Worthy of attention is the fact that when inscribed on various weapons, used in amulets and incantations, Qur'anic texts were frequently employed together with other religious texts (for the most part, the epithets of Muḥammad, 'Alī, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and magical and pious formulas, which usually originated in Šūfī or Shī'ite tradition). One finds here a parallel with the practice noted above of adding to manuscripts of the Qur'ān prayers or magical

texts and with the appearance of collections which brought together several *sūras* and other religious texts [53].

The Qur'ān becomes both talisman and weapon; the weapon is both ennobled and strengthened by the Qur'ān. Such a Qur'ān became one of the characteristic elements of this contradictory time, an age of military expansion and calls for meekness and retreat from the world, an age of defeats on the field of battle and victories in the souls of the newly converted, an age of ever greater diversity within Islam ("theoretical" — "practical"; "official" — "popular"; "basic" — "national-specific") and its fortification through the triumph of that diversity.

## Notes

1. Ibn Yās, *An Account of the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt*, trans. by W. N. Solomon (London, 1921), p. 41.
2. Practically all large collections contain manuscripts of the Qur'ān created during the period under discussion. In this connection, among the collections noted here, especially rich is that of the Salang Jung Museum and Library, see M. Ashraf, *A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Salang Jung Museum and Library*. Vol. II: The Glorious Qur'ān, its Parts and Fragments (Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, India, 1962), henceforth Hyderabad.
3. See correspondingly Hyderabad No. 105/Catalogue No. 107; 240/Catalogue No. 101; No. 245/Catalogue No. 161 = No. 244/Catalogue No. 169; No. 173/Catalogue No. 95.
4. See, for example, Hyderabad No. 119/Catalogue No. 132 dated by 1776 = No. 146/Catalogue No. 148; No. 112/Catalogue No. 115, dated by 1713; also collection of St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, B 354, dated by 19th century.
5. Hyderabad No. 13/Catalogue No. 163; also National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg), Ar. N. S. 1.
6. The *Table* includes fragments or the full texts of *āyāt* from 68 *sūras* used in occult practice. This does not mean, however, that fragments of *sūras* not included in the *Table* were not employed in occult practice. Proof of the latter is found, in particular, in the almost entirely different usage of *āyāt* and *sūras* in Persia and the Maghrib. The list represents an interesting source of information on the desires and strivings, illnesses and fears of millions of Muslims at various times in Persia and the Maghrib. For instance, the "Persian list" seems to demonstrate a high level of social tension, judging from many magic methods for combating "tyrants". What is interesting is that the "tyrants" were undoubtedly familiar with the possibility of such forms of magical retribution.
7. See A. Christensen, *Xavāṣṣ-i-āyāt. Notice et extraits d'un manuscrit persan traitant la magie des versets du Coran* (København, 1920). — Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historik-filologiske Meddelelser, III, 4. This work concentrates on an analysis of a Persian manuscript dated to 1818—19. The manuscript contains a work which is titled in the foreword *Khawāṣṣ-i-āyāt wa manāfi'-i-sūr-i-nabiyyāt*. The same foreword tells that the work was written by Ja'far al-Šādiq and was translated into Persian by 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad in 1520.
8. Al-Buṣṣirī's famous *qaṣida* was dedicated to self-deprecation, as well as to praising the Prophet and his miracles. According to tradition, the partially paralysed poet composed it and loudly recited it after praying. Once, in his dream, al-Buṣṣirī saw Muḥammad, who, by dressing him in his cloak (*al-burda*), healed the poet. Word of the miraculous healing soon spread. The story tells that the poem became extremely popular and was regarded as possessing supernatural power. It came to be used in amulets, it adorned the walls of public buildings, it was read along with *sūras* of the Qur'ān at burial ceremonies. Late Šūfī authors actively composed commentaries on al-Buṣṣirī's poem. These works frequently became independent theological treatises, see R. Basset, *La Bordaḥ du cheikh al-Busiri, poème en l'honneur de Mohammed* (Paris, 1894); see also I. Goldziher's review of the work by R. Basset in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, XXXI (1896), pp. 304—11.
9. Christensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 13—5.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 47, MS fol. 33 b.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 35, MS fol. 18 a.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 39, MS fols. 20b—21a.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 46, MS fol. 31a.
14. Hyderabad No. 112/Catalogue No. 115, dated by 1713.
15. Hyderabad No. 119/Catalogue No. 132, dated by 1776.
16. See, e.g., a miniature on the well-known episode of "Fighting camels", included in the *Muraqqa'-i Gulshan* from the Gulistān Library in Teheran, cf. A. T. Adamova, "Ob ikonografii siuzheta 'boriushchiesia verbliudy'" ("To the iconography of the motif of 'fighting camels'"), *Ermitazhnye chtenia 1986—1994 gg. Pamiati V. G. Lukonina* (St. Petersburg, 1995), pp. 200—5.
17. Qur'anic accounts of Sulaymān and the Queen of Sabā', of the *jinn*s, birds, beasts and wind which obeyed the Prophet are found, for example, in the frontispices to the 15th—16th century manuscripts of Niẓāmī's *Khamṣa* (cf. Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H 768, dated by 1485, fols. 1—2; H 1510, dated by 1501, fol. 502; A 3559, dated by 1560, fols. 1—2; H 750, fols. 1—2; Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. Pers. 1955, fols. 1—2). See also L. N. Dodkhudoeva, *Poemy Nizami v srednevekovoi' miniaturnoi' zhivopisi* (Niẓāmī's Poems in Medieval Miniature Painting) (Moscow, 1985), pp. 101—2. Widespread were the scenes "Sulaymān and the Queen of Sabā' on the throne" (State Hermitage, UR 999, dated to 1532—1542, fol. 210); "Sulaymān receives the envoys of Bilqīs", miniature to the *Shāh-nāma* by al-Firdawsī, dated to 1570 in the private collection (Los Angeles), see Sulaymān Muṣalīḥa, *Qisas al-tawra fi-l-rusūmāt al-Islāmiyya* (Maṭḥaf Isrā'īl, al-Quds, 1992), p. 43; "Sulaymān and his *jinn*s" (for example, British Library, Or 14 140, MS of 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt by al-Qazwīnī, 14th century, fol. 100 a).

18. For example, "Iskandar builds a wall to defend the people from the Yājūj and Mājūj", miniature to Nizāmī's *Iskandar-nāma*, dated ca. 1400 (British Library, Or. 13 529, fol. 32); miniatures to Nizāmī's *Khamsa* (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H 786, dated by 1446, fol. 309; Bibliothèque Nationale, Pers. 1112, dated by 1450, fol. 320). See also Dodkhudoeva, *op. cit.*, pp. 285—6.

19. For example, "The angels worship Ādam", miniature to Nizāmī's *Khamsa*, dated ca. 1570 (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, B. 146/K. 423, fol. 14); "The expulsion of Ādam and Hawwā' from paradise", miniatures to the *Hadiqat al-su'adā'* by al-Fuḍūlī, Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. Turc. 1088, fol. 9b; Brooklyn Museum, New York, 70.143, dated by 1602—3; Süleymaniye Library, Fatih 4321, dated by 1593—4; cf. R. Milstein, *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad* (Mazda Publishers, 1990), pp. 100—5.

20. For example, "The sacrifice of Ibrāhīm", miniatures to 16th—17th century manuscripts of *Hadiqat al-su'adā'* by al-Fuḍūlī (British Library, Or. 12 009, fol. 19b, Ms. Or. 7301, fol. 19b; Brooklyn Museum, New York, 70.143, fol. 20a); "Ibrāhīm is thrown into the fire", miniatures to 16th—17th century manuscripts of *Hadiqat al-su'adā'* by al-Fuḍūlī (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Ms. 85, 237.35; Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. Turc. 1088, fol. 17a); cf. Milstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 101—5.

21. For example, "The transformation of Mūsā's staff into a serpent", 17th—18th century miniatures to *Qisas al-anbiyā'*, in a private collection (London). See *Qisas al-tawra*, p. 31.

22. "Yūnus and the whale", 16th—17th century miniatures to *Hadiqat al-su'adā'* by al-Fuḍūlī, in private collection (London). See: *Qisas al-tawra*, p. 45.

23. "Isā and the apostles", miniature to Nizāmī's *Khamsa*, dated to 1562—3 (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H. 794/K, fol. 36b).

24. See *The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet. Mi'rāj Nāmeḥ*, introduction and commentaries by M.-R. Ségui (London, 1977); R. Etinghausen, "Persian Accession miniatures of the fourteenth century", *Islamic Art and Archaeology*, collected papers, prepared and edited by M. Rosen-Ayalon, with introduction by O. Grabar (Berlin, 1984). Without going into detail on the level of sacredness in such Muslim miniatures, we note the well-grounded view of the Russian scholar A. E. Bertel's, who studied two of the most complete cycles of miniatures to the *Mi'rāj-nāma* which have reached us (the "Istanbul album"; miniatures created before 1335 in Sulṭāniyye Library, on the territory of today's Iran; and the Paris manuscript of the *Mi'rāj-nāma* in Uighur, completed in Herat in 1436). As A. E. Bertel's points out: "Despite a large number of features they contain which are common to all miniatures of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we are inclined to consider them part of the sacred art of Iran both in content and in form. The latter was evidently derived from spiritual experience based on tradition", see A. E. Bertel's, *Khudozhestvennyĭ obraz v iskusstve Irana IX—XV vekov (Slovo, izobrazhenie)* (Symbols and Metaphors in the Persian art of the 9th—15th Centuries: Poetry, Images) (Moscow, 1997), p. 342.

25. Hyderabad, No. 99/Catalogue No. 347.

26. **Persian**: Leyden, Or. 510 and Or. 1217; St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, C 185; National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg), Dorn. 12; Ar. N. S 2; Ar. N. S. 4. **Turkish**: Leyden, Or. 504; National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg), Dorn. 39. **Urdu**: Hyderabad No. 68/Catalogue No. 303. **Jawa**: Leyden, Or. 2997. **Makassar**: Leyden, N. B. 52. **Belorussian and Polish**: St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, D 723; Oriental Faculty of the St. Petersburg State University, Nos. 893, 867, 868, 1315. One can add to this a number of translations of the Qur'ān carried out by the Moriscos in Spain. In outward form, these copies with parallel Spanish translation in Arabic writing are quite reminiscent of manuscripts with other Muslim parallel translation. See C. Lopez-Morillas, *The Qur'ān in Sixteenth-Century Spain: Six Morisco Versions of Sūra 79* (London, 1982).

27. **9 sūras**: Hyderabad No. 26/Catalogue No. 248; No. 25/Catalogue No. 49; No. 24/Catalogue No. 250; **8 sūras**: No. 29/Catalogue No. 251; No. 90/Catalogue No. 252; No. 28/Catalogue No. 253; No. 30/Catalogue No. 255; **7 sūras**: No. 27/Catalogue No. 254; No. 31/Catalogue No. 257; No. 32/Catalogue No. 258; No. 34/Catalogue No. 259; No. 36/Catalogue No. 260; No. 33/Catalogue No. 261; **6 sūras**: No. 64/Catalogue No. 262; No. 39/1/Catalogue No. 263; No. 48 /Catalogue No. 264; No. 37/Catalogue No. 265; No. 81/Catalogue No. 266; **5 sūras (Panj-sūra)**: No. 79/Catalogue No. 256; No. 60/Catalogue No. 267; No. 44/Catalogue No. 268; No. 64/Catalogue No. 269; No. 63/Catalogue No. 270; No. 45/Catalogue No. 271; No. 38/Catalogue No. 273; No. 68/Catalogue No. 274; No. 69/Catalogue No. 275; No. 49/Catalogue No. 276; No. 70/Catalogue No. 277; No. 74/Catalogue No. 278, see also: Catalogue Nos. 279, 280, 281—307; **4 sūras**: No. 87/Catalogue Nos. 308—310. See also National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg), Ar. N. S. 207, 218.

28. *Islamic Paintings from the 11th to the 18th century in the collection of Hans Kraus*, by Ernst J. Grube (New York, 1973), pp. 43—5.

29. For example, Bibliothèque Nationale, Arabe 6088, No. 359, Egypt (?), dated to ca. 1400.

30. For example, items from the collection of Nasser Khalili (henceforth, Khalili), Qur 573, Eastern Iran or Northern India, 1269; Qur 587, Anatolia (?), 1330—1350.

31. For example, a 30-part Qur'ān, dimensions 4.7 × 3.7 cm, Iraq (?), 1352—53 (Khalili, Qur 370).

32. For example, collection of *sūras* 2, 6, 18, 34, 35 (Khalili, Qur 242, Shiraz 1336—1354).

33. A number of such examples can be found in *Islamic Arms and Armour*, ed. by Elgood (London, 1979), henceforth, Elgood. See also *The Arts of War: Arms and Armour of the 7th to 19th C.* — The Nasser Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, XXI (henceforth, Khalili Arms). The materials analysed in these publications are sufficiently representative. In the main, they encompass Ottoman Turkey, Mamlūk Egypt and Syria, Persia, and Muslim India.

34. Such axes were frequently used in Ottoman Turkey for ceremonial purposes. In Persia they played a religious role during the rites of *darwishes*. It is for this reason that a large number of surviving examples of such axes are adorned with texts from the Qur'ān. For example, battle axe (Persia, 1735/36) — Qur'ān, 61 : 13 (Elgood, p. 240); battle axe (Persia, 1735/36) — Qur'ān, 61 : 13; 18 : 39; 68 : 51—52: all of *sūra* 110 (Elgood, pp. 123—4); battle axe (Turkey, late 15th century) — Qur'ān, 61 : 13 (Elgood, p. 115); battle axe (Turkey, ca. 16th century) — Qur'ān, 61 : 13 (in part) (Khalili Arms, No. 58); saddle axe (Iran, late 18th century) — Qur'ān, 9 : 56 (part); 3 : 126 (part); 8 : 10 (part); 11 : 88 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 94).

35. Shield (Persia, 1805) — Qur'ān, fragments of *sūras* 109, 112, 113, 114 (Elgood, p. 18); shield (India, ca. 1500), Qur'ān, 61 : 13 (part), 18 : 46 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 47); shield (Persia), Qur'ān, 68 : 51—52 (Tsarskosel'skaia kolleksiia, see *Indian and Oriental Armour*, by Lord Egerton of Tatton, London, 1970, p. 4, n. 1).

36. Armor (Persia, late 18th—early 19th centuries) — Qur'ān, 61 : 13; 2 : 255—257; 40 : 44; 11 : 90; 110 (in full); 113 (in full); 114 (in full) (Elgood, pp. 6—11); breastplate (Turkey, 16th century) (Khalili Arms, No. 38), Qur'ān, 17 : 84 (part); shoulder plate (Turkey, 16th century), Qur'ān, 2 : 255 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 39).

37. Elbow guards (Persia, 1711) — Qurʾān, 16 : 13 (Elgood, pp. 13—15); elbow guard (India, *ca.* second half of the 18th century) — Qurʾān, 2 : 255; 21 : 87 (part) — 88; 105 (in full), (Khalili Arms, No. 106).
38. Sword (Egypt, Syria, 17th century) — Qurʾān, 2 : 255 (*Islamic Arms and Armour*, Riyadh, 1992, p. 43); saber (India, 1745—50) — Qurʾān, 61 : 13 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 82); saber (India, 19th century) — Qurʾān, 61 : 13 (part); 12 : 64 (part); sword (Persia, 18th century) — Qurʾān, 16 : 13 (part) (*Indian and Oriental Armour*, by Lord Egerton of Tatton, p. 53, n. 1).
39. Helmet (Persia, 18th century) — Qurʾān, 2 : 255 (Elgood, 12); part of a helmet (Egypt, Syria or Turkey, 16th or 17th century) — Qurʾān, 61 : 13 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 56); helmet (Iran, 19th century) — Qurʾān, 2 : 255—256, 257 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 79).
40. Dagger (Iran, 1800—1801) — Qurʾān, 61 : 13 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 83); dagger (Iran, end 18th—19th century) — Qurʾān, 61 : 13 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 85); dagger (Iran, beginning 19th century) — Qurʾān, 61 : 13 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 90).
41. Chamfron (Anatolia or Iran, late 15th—16th century) — Qurʾān, 61 : 13 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 45).
42. Silver case for a bow of the Ottoman Sultan Ahmed I (1603—1617) decorated with fragments of Qurʾānic texts (without indication) — (Elgood, p. 203); belt fittings (Iran, 18th century) — Qurʾān, 110, 113 (in full) (Khalili Arms, No. 91).
43. Christensen, *op. cit.*, p. 45 (fol. 30a of the manuscript).
44. Talismanic shirt (India, late 15th century) — the entire text of the Qurʾān (Hyderabad, No. 177/Catalogue No. 15); talismanic shirt (India, late 15th century) — entire text of the Qurʾān (Hyderabad, No. 178/Catalogue No. 16); talismanic shirt (possibly Iran, 16th or 17th century), many Qurʾānic fragments and Shiʿite formulas (Khalili Arms, No. 33); talismanic shirt (possibly Iran, 16th or 17th century) — prayers, incantations, numerous Qurʾānic fragments, including *sūras* 1, 48, 112, 114 in full, *āyat* 2 : 255, 24 : 35, and many Shiʿite formulas (Khalili Arms, No. 34). The publishers promise a forthcoming edition of other talismanic shirts in volume XII of the Khalili collection, entitled “Science, Tools and Magic”.
45. According to one of the traditions, Badūh was the name of an Arabian merchant who acquired *baraka* as a result of his piety and grew rich. A magical square such as the following

ε	Ϟ
λ	ϣ

was frequently used in seals (for example, to seal a letter sent to a distant destination).

46. Khalili, Qur 371, Iran or Turkey, 1450—1500; Bibliothèque Nationale, Arabe 449 (No. 534), Iran, 1582; National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg), Dorn. 35; Hyderabad No. 232/Catalogue No. 43.
47. D. Nicolle, *Early Medieval Islamic Arms and Armour* (Caceres, 1976), pp. 141—4. Cf. banner (Turkey, 17th century) — Qurʾān, 4, end of *āya* 95—96 (Khalili Arms, No. 59); banner (Turkey, *ca.* 1820) — Qurʾān, 61 : 13 (part) (Khalili Arms, No. 66); 4, end of *āya* 95—96; 112 (in full); top of a banner (Iran, *ca.* 17th century) — Qurʾān, 112 (in full) (Khalili Arms, No. 77); upper section of a banner in the form of *khamsa* from the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, see *The World of Islam. Faith, People, Culture*, ed. by B. Lewis (London, 1992), p. 203. Among the earliest examples of this practice in the Christian world is the famed *labarum*, the banner of victory with a Christogram which, according to accounts, accompanied the Emperor Constantine the Great during his battle at the Mulvi bridge (A.D. 312).
48. E. Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l’Afrique du Nord* (Alger, 1909), pp. 239—41.
49. Abolala Souvardar, *Art of Persian Courts. Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection* (Seattle, 1981), No. 54, p. 150.
50. According to tradition, Muḥammad blinded an evil *sākhir* with its help. See *Indian and Oriental Armour* by Lord Egerton of Tatton, p. 54, n. 1.
51. E. Dodd and Sh. Khairallah, *The Image of the Word: A Study of Qurʾānic Verses in Islamic Architecture*. 1. Texts and photographs; 2. Indexes (Beirut, 1981).
52. Thus, the helmet of the Grand Prince Yaroslav Vsevolodovich, dated to the beginning of the thirteenth century, bears not only the inscription “Oh Great Archistrateg Michael, help your servant Feodor”, but depictions of the Archangel Michael, St. Basil, St. George, St. Theodore and God the Almighty. See *Russian Arms and Armour*, ed. by Yu. Miller (Leningrad, 1982), pl. 1. Among the rings, which form a German-produced coat of mail (*ca.* 1400), is a brass ring with a series of monograms: the letters *M* and *AM*, that is, “Maria” and “Ave Maria”. See H. L. Blackmore, *Arms and Armour* (New York, 1965), p. 9. European swords bore inscriptions of sacred content such as “† *In nomine Domini* †” (*ca.* 1100, Viking grave in Finland). See E. Oakeshott, *The Archaeology of Weapons* (Woodbridge, 1960), pl. 30; pp. 206, 215—17; see also Blackmore, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
53. In this connection, it is telling that the authors and publishers of catalogues include Qurʾānic talismanic shirts both among arms (Khalili Arms) and manuscripts (Hayderabad).

## Illustrations

Fig. 1. *Sūra* 112 written into a magic square. A composite manuscript entitled رسائل متفرقة أكثرها فارسية (call number 678) from the collection of the Oriental Faculty of the St. Petersburg State University, Iran, 17th century, fol. 142.